

A Blow at the Root :

O R, A N

A T T E M P T

T O P R O V E,

That no Time ever was, or very probably
ever will be, so proper and convenient
as the Present, for introducing a further

REFORMATION

I N T O O U R

NATIONAL CHURCH, UNIVER-
SITIES, and SCHOOLS.

Most humbly dedicated to

His Royal Highness

WILLIAM Duke of *Cumberland*.

By an IMPARTIAL HAND.

L O N D O N :

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T O

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

W I L L I A M,

Duke of Cumberland.

S I R,

THE following Tract, collected from Authentick Memoirs, is most humbly dedicated to your Royal Highness, and is intended to present, in one short View, some of the most memorable and important Transactions, that have ever been done or perform'd, on the publick Stage of this Kingdom.

Observations on Government, if they be just, can never be unacceptable; especially to a Subject so nearly related to Sovereignty. All Minds truly great are truly humane; and therefore, as in this Treatise I don't presume to instruct your Royal Highness, so I am confident I shall not offend you.

And what gives me this Assurance is, a Persuasion, that no Attempt to serve and vindicate our most holy Religion, our Government, Laws, and Constitutions, and, consequently, the natural Rights and Privileges of Mankind, can fail being encouraged by your Royal Highness.——Such Encouragement is worthy a Prince of the House of *Hanover*. All Governments have their Faults and Imperfections ; none ever was without them.——That ours is the Best, I not only sincerely believe, but think demonstrable ; therefore 'tis absolutely incumbent upon all Men to defend and maintain this our most excellent Government, against all its foreign and domestic Foes.——Your Royal Highness has convinced all Men, how well qualified you are to support and defend ours.——You have adorned the high Rank in which you were born ; and have already acquired immortal Honour and Renown by your military Atchievements. Our great Deliverance by the Revolution, wou'd have been very imperfect and precarious, had not our glorious Deliverer, with great Pains and Difficulty, settled the Succession to the Crown on the Illustrious House of *Hanover* ; and to this parliamentary Settlement, the best and strongest Title to Empire, are we indebted for our Religion, Laws, and Liberties,

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The Succession of your House had no sooner taken Place, but the Enemies of our Religion and Laws rose up in Arms with a *popish Pretender* at their Head.—And notwithstanding the People of *England* and *Scotland* had taken the Oaths to King *William*, and consequently to the *Hanover* Settlement, yet, a very considerable Body of the People, in both Nations, did act and behave as if they really thought their Allegiance was due to the *Pretender*. I will readily grant, that a very great Part of the People, who had promoted and encouraged that wicked Rebellion, on the Accession of your *royal Grandfather* to the Crown of these Realms, were the vicious, the wicked, the profligate, and profane; Men extreamly ignorant, and destitute of all the Principles of Religion and Virtue. Yet I must confess there was a great Number amongst them of a different Stamp, Persons who did really act upon Principle, who believ'd in their Consciences, that the *Pretender* was the only rightful Heir to the *Crown*, and in Consequence of such a Persuasion concluded that he had a legal Right to their Aid and Assistance. And here it shou'd be carefully observed, that the Seeds of Disloyalty and Disaffection had for a long Time been sewing, in our Universities, and other more private Seminaries of Learning; the Minds of great Numbers of our Nobility, Gentry, and

Commonalty, had been greatly corrupted and depraved, by those who had the Charge of their Education. They had been educated in all the old, absurd, and ridiculous Notions of Government, as *passive Obedience*, *Non-resistance*, and that of an *absolute indefeasible hereditary Right*, and had been always accustomed to hear, a parliamentary Right to the Crown treated as a most wicked and infamous Usurpation. It was an unlucky Affair for this poor Nation, that our religious Teachers, who were chiefly intrusted with the Education of our Youth, of all Ranks and Degrees, happened at this Period of Time, and for a long Time before, to be extremely defective themselves in the Knowledge of our Religion, Laws, and Government: for the Principles in which they instructed our Youth were not only ridiculous and absurd, destructive to the Safety and Welfare of Society, subversive of all the natural and sacred Rights of Mankind, but also directly opposite and repugnant to the fundamental Laws and Constitution of the Realm.

Lineal Succession and hereditary Right have no Foundation in Nature; and to say they are appointed by God, is so groundless and ridiculous a Position as to merit no Reply.—There is no Form of Government in the World of divine Appointment; every Nation and Kingdom under Heaven is left to settle

settle that Form of Government which is most agreeable to their Genius, and most conducive to the sole End of all Government, the Happiness of the Community. The Design of this little Tract, is to demonstrate beyond all possible Contradiction, that the Rebellion, on your royal Grandfather's Accession to the Throne of these Realms, was entirely occasioned by the wicked Principles taught in our Universities and Schools. It is very true, that the Rebellion was soon suppress'd, by the inherent Bravery and steady Resolution of your royal Grandfather, but the Seeds of Rebellion were permitted to remain.—The Rebels were dispersed, and had lain down their Arms, and some thousands, who by the established Laws of the Land had forfeited their Lives and Estates, were pardoned by the royal Clemency.--Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Spirit of Rebellion was far from being quelled; the old Principles still prevailed; and those who had corrupted and depraved the Minds of the People, were still left in Possession of that great and important Trust, the Education of our Youth.—Wou'd to God your royal Grandfather had laid the Axe to the Root of the Tree, and had made a quite new and compleat Reformation in our Universities and Schools; that so the Youth of our Nobility and Gentry (especially) might have been educated in the mild and peaceable Principle

ple of the Christian Religion, and with a sincere and hearty Attachment to our Government Laws and Constitution. All Government in its own Nature is mutable, as it depends on the various Humours and Passions of Men, and is frequently altered by Time and Accidents. Government was first founded by the Consent of the Parties concerned : and it still continues on the same Foot ; for, Prior to those Compacts and Agreements, Mankind were born originally free, in a perfect State of Equality, and they never could loose this Equality, except by their own Consent ; and whenever in any Part or Corner of the World, Men shall consent to divest themselves of their natural Rights, enter into Society, voluntarily submitting themselves to certain Laws Compacts and Agreements, for their mutual Security, great Care and Circumspection should then be taken, in framing their primary Laws and Constitutions ; and if it be intended that this Government shall become permanent, and durable, the two succeeding Points must be carefully attended to—The Education of their Youth, especially of their Nobility and Gentry, should be entrusted to none but Gentlemen of great Knowledge Learning and Integrity, that are most heartily attached by Principle to all the primary and fundamental Laws of this particular Society ; (a
Point

Point of the utmost Consequence, that has been most shamefully neglected in *England* since the Revolution, which alone has been the Occasion of all the Rebellions and Mischiefs that has ever since befallen this poor Nation,)—The next Point, of equal Importance with the Former, is, that the Governors of Society, in all Kingdoms States and Nations of the World, should always keep a watchful Eye on the publick Teachers of Religion, and by all possible Means endeavour to put them off with a very small Share, either of Wealth or Power; and here I wou'd be understood to mean those of all Parties Characters and Denominations upon the Face of the whole Earth. — These are two Points of the utmost Consequence, if it be intended that the Government shou'd remain permanent and durable. — In all Kingdoms and Nations in the World, where religious Teachers have been accustomed to enjoy any considerable Degree of Wealth and Power, there in a very peculiar and extraordinary Manner it becomes the Duty, yea the necessary and indispensable Duty, of all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Ministers of State, not only to keep a watchful Eye, but a very strict Hand over the public Teachers of Religion; lest while, by an affected Humility, they call themselves the Servants of God, of Virtue, and Mankind, they exalt themselves above all that is called

called God, vilify Religion, and enslave the World. Wherever the publick Teachers of Religion possess any considerable Degree of Wealth and Power, these Fears are not chimerical, nor are those Suspicions groundless, as appear by all our Histories ever since the first Promulgation of Christianity. And here I defy all the Men upon Earth to prove the Contrary. Yea, was there not a Time in this very Nation, when our Clergy rode upon the Necks of our Kings, insulted our Magistrates, defied our Laws, and trampled upon all the sacred Rights of Mankind.—Blessed be Almighty God, adored be his Name forever, that he has delivered us to a very great Degree, from this worst and most accursed of all Evils, ecclesiastical Tyranny and Slavery.—It has been no small Advantage to the Character of your royal Highness, that you have ever been fond of imitating your illustrious Ancestors ; it was their Glory to be warlike, to engage young in War, and to defend Right against Violence.—The King, your Father, distinguished himself at your Years, as you have done.—The king, your Grandfather, in his fifteenth Year, fought bravely by the Side of his Father, at the Battle of *Treves*, where that gallant Prince commanded the confederate Cavalry, vanquished and routed a *French* Army with a Marshal of *France* at their Head.

I must

I must here mention another Part of the Character of your Royal Highness's illustrious Progenitors, and which is equally worthy of Imitation ; they ever had a most tender and sacred Regard for the religious as well as civil Liberties of Mankind. In the Year 1529, at the grand and general Diet of the Empire at *Spire* in *Germany*, we find your noble Ancestors, vehemently supporting the Cause and Interest of *Luther*. And notwithstanding they could not prevent the passing those wicked and diabolical Decrees, which were intended to introduce nothing but Murder and Rapine, Violence and Bloodshed, throughout the whole *Germanick* Empire, that thereby the Priests might continue and remain in Possession of the Bodies, the Souls, the Consciences and Properties of Mankind, yet your Ancestors were the foremost in entering a most solemn and awful Protest against those wicked Decrees ; and by their Example Influence and Authority four more of the *German* Princes immediately joyn'd in the same Protest ; and soon after fourteen free Cities of *Germany* followed their Example ; all publickly declaring that they wou'd defend and support this Protest — It was at this very Juncture the *Lutherans* first obtained the Name of Protestants, which was afterwards given in common to all who separated themselves from the tyrannical and idolatrous

idolatrous Church of *Rome*.—Happy, thrice happy are the *Britons*, who have a Prince upon the Throne, that is descended from a Race of Nobles, who early embraced and resolutely defended the protestant Religion, and who most eminently adorn'd their high Rank and Dignity, by boldly and successfully opposing the wicked and impious Claims of ecclesiastical Men, who for many Ages, under the Notion of the Church, had most grievously oppress'd the Liberties of the Christian World.—May their Successors ever follow their glorious Examples; then they'll be the Defenders of that Faith, which is the Result of Evidence and Conviction, and only fit for reasonable Beings.—I can't here omit taking Notice of the sacred Regard your Royal Grandfather had to the religious Rights of Mankind, of which he gave a noble and extraordinary Instance. Soon after his Accession to the Crown of these Realms, great Numbers of our Clergy, having their Minds darken'd and beclouded by the Bigotry Superstition and Prejudices which they had early receiv'd at our Universities and Schools, began to grow noisy and turbulent, and to set up Claims, inconsistent with our fundamental Laws and Constitutions, and with a true ecclesiastical Fury and Bitterness they actually commenced an unrighteous Prosecution

Prosecution against a particular Brother of their * own, who then was, and has ever since continued to be, one of the brightest and most shining Ornaments of the established Church. At this critical Juncture the Eyes and the Hearts of all the honest and wise Men in the Nation, were upon this poor Reverend Gentleman, whom with great Concern and Solitude they now saw about to be demolished by a sacerdotal Faction. But their Sorrow and Grief was soon dissipated. They saw with a noble Pleasure, that your royal Grandfather was about to interpose for the Safety and Protection of one single Subject; he was graciously pleased, by his royal Writ to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to prorogue the Convocation, whereby their Designs were at once entirely defeated: A noble Instance of royal Justice and paternal Affection; his generous Soul was influenced by all those Sentiments of Humanity and Compassion, with which the Christian Religion never fails to inspire its real Votaries.—This single instance of his royal Virtue will ever be recorded in the *British Annals* to his immortal Honour and Renown, and for which, Generations to come will call him blessed.—I might easily enlarge on this Head, and produce ma-

* The present Bishop of *Winchester*.

ny other Instances to the same Purport; but this is sufficient to let your Royal Highness see, that there are other Parts in the Conduct of your royal Progenitors, worthy the strictest Imitation of all their Successors, besides their warlike and military Atchievements.—I can't possibly conclude this Dedication without taking some Notice of the extraordinary Deliverance you lately wrought out for us at the glorious and ever memorable Battle of *Culloden*. A critical Period, when we were in the utmost Peril and Danger.—The Eyes of all were turned towards your Royal Highness, and not in vain; the Expectations of the Publick were fully answered. After incredible Labours and Fatigues, you faced and bravely fought the Enemy, and, in a few Hours, vanquished and defeated a Crew, the most bold and daring, the most wicked and desperate that ever the World saw—Animated by your Example, our Troops pursued with incredible Toil, and totally routed their Army.—A noble and glorious Victory indeed, by the general Voice of the Nation wholly ascrib'd to your personal Conduct and Valour. It's true, the Rebellion is now suppress'd, but the Work is not compleated; something still remains to be done, as an additional Security to the Succession of the Crown in your illustrious Family—And consequently for the
 Prefer-

Preservation of our Laws and Liberties, which entirely depend on that Succession. No, Sir, tho' the Rebellion is suppress'd, the Seeds and Spirit of Rebellion are far from being quelled and extinguished.---Are they not cherished, fomented, and kept alive in our Universities and publick Schools. Had Care been taken in the Days of your royal Grandfather to extinguish and root up the Seeds and Spirit of Disloyalty and Disaffection, that was then so rampant in our national Church, Universities and Schools, we in our Days had never been plagued with a second Rebellion.—And I persuade myself that your Royal Highness, and every honest Man that shall impartially peruse this little Treatise, will be convinced, that it is a Matter of the last Importance, to the very Being and Existence of our present happy Constitution, that some new and extraordinary Reformation be immediately introduced into our Universities and Schools, if not into our national Church.—Should this Matter be omitted or neglected, and our Youth continue to have their Minds early impress'd with the Seeds and Spirit of Disloyalty and Disaffection, I greatly fear that at some future critical Period, this Spirit will again burst out into a Flame, and probably end in our utter Ruin and Destruction. I shall make no Apology for this Dedication

tion, the Importance of the Subject is a sufficient Excuse. My Prayers and good Wishes shall ever attend your Royal Highness. I speak sincerely and from the Bottom of my Heart when I tell you that I am,

S I R,

Your Royal Highness's

most humble,

most dutiful, and

most obedient Servant, &c.

A Blow at the Root, &c.

IT has ever been my opinion that a Freedom of Speech and writing ought always to be allowed and encouraged, when it is exerted with an honest Design of serving our Country, and when it is employed in exposing and censuring any real Mismanagement of the publick Affairs.

The Experience of all Ages has convinc'd us that few Corruptions either of a publick or private Nature, can withstand the Power of a free Enquiry ; it is therefore right and just for *Englishmen* to set so great a Value on that most important Privilege, the Freedom of Speaking and writing their Sentiments upon Points of the highest Concernment.

To this we owe our Reformation from Popery, and our happy Deliverance from the wicked Tyranny and Usurpation of the See of *Rome*. To this most inestimable Privilege are we also indebted for the present Disgrace of Superstition, Enthusiasm, Persecution,

cution, and the eternal Overthrow of those stupid and slavish Doctrines of passive Obedience, Non-resistance, and the absolute indefeasible hereditary Right of Princes. In the following Tract I most solemnly profess my Intention is not to give Offence to any Person upon Earth. I must acknowledge my Nature is frank and open, warmly dispos'd not only to seek, but to speak what I take to be true. I am persuaded that the Life and Faculties of Men, at the best, are but short and limited, and therefore can't be employ'd more rationally or laudably, than in the Search of Knowledge, and especially of that Sort which relates to our Duty, and conduces to our Happiness. Wherever I perceive any Glimmering of Truth, I endeavour to trace it to its Source, without any Reserve or Caution of pushing the Discovery too far, or opening too great a Glare of Light to the Publick.—I look upon the Discovery of any thing which is true, as a valuable Acquisition to Society, tho' the Light of Truth will certainly expose all those popular Systems and Prejudices, which are to be found in every Country derived from Error, Fraud, or Superstition; and craftily impos'd on the many, to serve the Interest of a few. Hence it is that upon the Detection of any of these, and especially of the religious Kind, we presently see all the Fury and Rage of fierce Bigots, hypocritical Zealots

lots and interested Politicians, and, in short, all whose Credit or Fortunes in any Manner depend on the Establishment of Error or Ignorance among Men: And from hence has arose all those horrible Massacres and Persecutions, of which we frequently read, both in Christian and Pagan Countries, where, under the pretence of serving God, Men have destroy'd many Thousands of his best Servants; but Truth was never known on the persecuting Side.—

The Reader in the following Sheets will find none of those Arts which are frequently employed to palliate a bad Cause, or to perplex a good one,—no subtle Refinements, no forced Constructions, or evasive Distinctions, but only plain Reasoning, grounded on plain known Facts; and publish'd with an honest and disinterested Intention to free the Minds of Men from a blind and violent Attachment to Error and Imposture, which for a long Succession of Ages has disgraced the Religion of the Gospel, and tyranniz'd over the Reason and Sense of a People, in all other Respects, wise, brave, and free.—Whatever Judgment any other Man may form, or whatever he may write on the Subject of this Performance, I shall not easily be drawn into any Controversy about it; I have discharged my Conscience, and am content, indulging the same Liberty to any body else, and to leave the rest to the Judgment

ment of the Publick.—However, if I shou'd hereafter be convinced of any Error or Mistake in the Representation of any Fact or Testimony or Character, I am ready to retract it in the same publick Manner in which I committed it.*——When I first heard that a great Officer at *Oxford*, and several of the Students were actually under a Prosecution, the former for a monstrous Neglect of Duty, the latter, for some high Crimes and Misdemeanors, suppos'd to have been committed at *Oxford*, on the Birth-Day of one of the Pretender's Sons ; I began presently to look on this Affair as one of the greatest and most extraordinary Events that had happened for a long Time, and that in its consequence, it must be productive of the greatest Happiness to the present and succeeding Ages, as it would afford the Legislature a fair and seasonable Opportunity to examine into all the ridiculous and absurd Notions, both of Religion and Government, that are there inculcated into the young and tender Minds of our Nobility and Gentry : From whence all the Mischiefs and Miseries

* The Reader is desir'd all along to take Notice, that this Tract was wrote immediately after the Commencement of the Prosecution against the Vice-Chancellor and some Students at *Oxford*, and was intended to have been publish'd instantly ; but the Author was prevented by a long Fit of Sickness, and some other unavoidable Engagements, which made it impossible.

that have ever beset this poor Nation, have owed their Rise and Origin.--I really imagin'd the Trial of those Offenders cou'd produce nothing less than a quite new and different Regulation, in our Universities at least, that so for the future, our Youth may be educated in the noble and generous Principles of the Christian Religion, and that their Notions of Government wou'd be adapted to the general Good of Society, and perfectly consistent with the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Realm.

Whilst I was amusing myself with those agreeable Speculations, which I thought wou'd so much conduce to the Happiness of Millions yet unborn, I was knock'd down by an Account from *London*, that some great Men began to think that this Prosecution shou'd be dropped, or otherwise carried on with the utmost Lenity and Mildness, that so the suppos'd Criminal may, if possible, escape with Impunity; and that, shou'd they be attack'd with Vigour, and punish'd in such Manner as the Law directs, it may probably throw the Nation into a Ferment, and the old knavish Cry of the Danger of the Church, which has formerly done such mighty Wonders, may be again set up in most Places in *England*, and occasion such Convulsions in the State as may produce the worst of Consequences. I will not pretend to say this is strictly and absolutely true,

I hope it is not, I only say I have seen such a Representation, wherein it is asserted, that some great Men, who they are I know not, affect to talk in this Way, than which, nothing surely can be more fallacious and ridiculous. I must grant, that this knavish Cry of the Danger of the Church, has in most Countries, at different Times, done mighty Feats and Wonders, and probably it may at this Day, in Popish and Mahometan Countries; but to presume, that the setting up this Cry in *England* wou'd now produce any pernicious Consequence, is an open and violent Attack on the Reason, Judgment, and Learning of the present Age——No, at this time of Day, Thanks be to Almighty God for it, such a Cry wou'd be deemed unworthy the Notice of any Man that bears the Character of great or wise, religious or good.

The People of *England* are fully satisfied with the State and Condition of their Church; they know that it is founded on the Rock *Christ Jesus*, and that the Powers of Hell shall never prevail against it; it will stand firm and immutable; Heaven and Earth may pass away, but the Word of the Lord abideth for ever, and, as Christians, we shou'd rely on the Veracity of God, that he will ever defend this Church.

This Church claims no Power, or Dominion, over the Persons, Properties, or Consciences

Consciences of others ; and with Regard to human Society, 'tis friendly, and peaceable to the last Degree, and gives all Men an equal Right of differing from each other, and enjoyns that each Man should remain in the quiet and peaceable Possessions of his Principle. This is the Christian Church, this is the new Testament Church, and every honest and wise Man in the Kingdom, will be of this Church. But to return from this little Digression, though not unnecessary. I now come to remark, that its no new Thing for great Men, for Princes, Rulers, and Ministers of State, to live in a mean servile Fear, and Dependance, on the religious Teachers of their respective Countries. And really in popish Countries, such a Dread and Fear of the religious Teachers, in Ministers of State, becomes quite consistent with all the Rules of Prudence and Policy ; because, there, the Clergy are, in a Manner, in Possession of the Bodies, the Souls, the Consciences, and Properties of the People.

The late King of *France*, when the Exigencies of his Affairs made it necessary for him to oppress his Subjects, to a very great Degree, remarked to his Secretary of State, Monsieur *Colbert*, that the Revenues of the Clergy, in Lands only, amounted to several Millions Sterling a Year ; *Colbert* replied to his Majesty, that this was certainly true, and also, that besides this prodigious

Income, the ready Money, they wrested out of private Families, amounted to an immense Sum.* However he remarked, that if their Revenues were attacked they wou'd presently become noisy and turbulent, whereas if the whole Sum wanted was raised on the Laity only, they wou'd endeavour to prepare, and reconcile the People to it ; and that they would always support and concur with his Majesty, in any Measures, tho' ever so oppressive, as long as they themselves cou'd be exempted, and permitted to live in Security and Plenty. This *Colbert*, was certainly as great and wise a Minister as most in Europe, and doubtless his reasoning on this Head was perfectly right and just. But for great Men or Ministers of State to live in this mean and servile Fear of religious Teachers, in Protestant Countries, argues a poor and dastardly Spirit, and discovers a want of Knowledge,

* I presume Monsieur *Colbert* here refers, to the general Practice of the *Romish* Clergy, who, when any Person is suppos'd to be a dying, repair to the House, whether sent for or not, to administer the Sacrament of the Supper or the extream Unction to the dying Person. And they never fail of improving those Opportunities to wrest some Money out of the Family, and sometimes good round Sums, as a Consideration for a Number of Masses, and Prayers, they promise to repeat after the Decease of the then dying Person. In *Spain*, and *Italy*, many good Families have been impoverished, by those notorious Villanies and Cheats of their Clergy.

and

and all other Talents proper for Rule and Government.

Great Men in *England* shou'd consider that they are not in Popish Countries, and be thankful to Almighty God for it ; they shou'd consider likewise, that in protestant Countries, where Liberty and Freedom prevails, every Man has his Body, his Soul, his Conscience, and Estate, in his own keeping, and that he need not deliver up the Management or Direction of either, to any Man or Body of men upon the Face of God's Earth. However I will grant that, even in Protestant Countries, there may formerly have been some critical Times, and peculiar Seasons, when this Fear and dread of a national Clergy might have become prudent and reasonable, of which I will give one single Instance.

Our late glorious King *William*, of immortal Memory, when he had a little Recess and Leisure from Business, wou'd frequently send for Mr. *Locke*, to whom he would open his Mind with great Freedom; he once remarked to him, that he was oftentimes surprized and astonished to find such a Degree of Ignorance, Blindness, and Obstinacy prevail amongst great Numbers of our Nobility and Gentry, that he was really at a loss to assign a proper Reason for it, and consequently could not discover by what Means it might be remedied in time to come. The great, the wise,
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the learned Mr. *Locke*, presently sets his Majesty right in this Particular, by telling him that his Observation was certainly right and just; as it was impossible the Case should be otherwise, but that Blindness, Obstinacy, and Ignorance must always continue and remain in great Number of our Nobility and Gentry, till such Times, as our Universities and other public Seminaries of Learning shou'd be totally demolished, or brought under a quite new and different Regulation, for that the Principles which were there imbibed were contrary to our most holy Religion, as well as directly opposite to all the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Realm. His Majesty began to be of Mr. *Locke's* Opinion, and soon afterwards propos'd this Affair to some of his Ministers of State, who began to stare one upon another, and were quite alarm'd and frighten'd, telling his Majesty that the most distant thought of reforming our Universities and Schools would be contrary to all the Rules of Prudence and Policy, considering the then unsettled State of the Nation; and what a vast Body of the People of *England* were so blind and infatuated, as to be yet in the Interest of the late abdicated Family. These Reasons had their due Weight with the King, and the Affair drop'd, and on calm Reflection this could not be deemed a proper or seasonable Time.

Thus

Thus we see, that even in Protestant Countries there may be such Times and Seasons, as that any Attempts towards a Reformation, either in our national Church or Universities, may become imprudent and impolitick. —I had this Story from a Gentleman of great Veracity, a sincere Friend and great Admirer of Mr. *Locke*, and I mention it here, partly, that my Reader may see the calm and deliberate Sentiments of one of the best and wisest Men this Nation ever produced. ——— However I could mention many Times and Seasons, wherein great Men have lived in a constant Fear and Dread of the religious Teachers. ——— If we go into the next Reign, we find the Lord *Godolphin* to be a Minister of great Power and Influence. I have been always accusom'd to look on him as a brave honest and sensible Man ; he engag'd in a War, with one of the greatest Monarchs in the World, —and, by the help of his brave General, for a long time, remain'd Triumphant and Victorious over him, —yet this wise and brave Minister had such a constant Dread and Fear of the religious Teachers, that a single Man, with a Gown and Cassock on, has made him even fear and tremble. When this Minister heard that Doctor *Clarke* was about to Publish a Book on some controverted Point in Divinity, he was greatly alarm'd, and condescended to send a Messenger to the Doctor, desiring him

him to forbear printing it ; which Message Doctor *Clarke* paid no regard to.—About the same time, he was put into another great Fright, and Hurry, upon Information that Mr. *Whiston*, Professor of the Mathematicks in the University at *Cambridge*, was about to Publish another Work, concerning some controverted Points in Divinity. He sent Doctor *Cannon* to him, intreating him to forbear the Publication.—*Whiston* was a free spoken Man, and gave Doctor *Cannon* the following Answer,——

“ If we must never set about a Reformation in Church Affairs, till a Lord-Treasurer sends us word it’s a proper Time, I believe it would be long enough before that time would come.—If the sacred Truths of God must be always suppress’d, and dangerous Corruptions never inquir’d into——till the Politicians of this World shall say it were a proper Time, I doubt it would be long e’re such Examination and Correction could be expected in any Case.—Therefore I shall pay no regard to the Lord-Treasurer’s Opinion in that Matter.”——Both those Men publish’d their intended Books, declaring solemnly at the same Time, they had no Intention to disturb the publick Tranquility, only to Correct and Purge our national Church from some Absurdities, which even yet remain’d in her Doctrine and Discipline, and which had been introduced

introduced into it, by the Weakness and Wickedness of the Ecclesiasticks of former Ages, (Vide *Whiston's* Historical Memoirs of the Life of Dr. *Clarke* Page 30)——I wou'd not be understood, as if I apprehended the Fear and Concern of the Lord-Treasurer arose meerly from these two Gentlemen, probably not ; but the Writings of those Gentlemen tending to a further Reformation in our national Church, wou'd make the Clergy become Turbulent and Noisy, so that at last it might be necessary for the Government to interpose, which probably was what the Lord-Treasurer greatly dreaded.——However, after all, if the Lord-Treasurer did really obstruct any Reformation in the Church, as some would insinuate,——I must here do Justice to the Name and Character of this great and good Minister, by declaring that he soon after made ample and sufficient amends for it, having very probably been informed more particularly about the wicked Doctrines that were publickly Taught at the University of *Oxford*.——He in a very open and publick Manner, before the greatest, the most venerable, and august Assembly upon Earth, I say, this very Lord *Godolphin*, did then and there declare his utmost Abhorrence and Detestation, of the *Oxford* Principles, both as to Religion and Government. And that all People upon the Face of the Earth may be fully satisfy'd and convinc'd of the Judgment

ment, and Opinion, of this great Assembly, touching the Principles of our University of *Oxford*, they with great Solemnity and Deliberation, in the Presence of God, Angels, and Men, agree and resolve as follows, (*viz.*)

“ That it was resolved by the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, that the Judgment and Decree of the University of *Oxford*, pass’d in their Convocation, 21st of *July* 1683, contains in it several Positions contrary to the Constitutions of this Kingdom, and destructive to the Protestant Succession, as by Law establish’d ; and it was thereupon order’d by the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, that the said Judgment and Decree shall be burnt, by the Hand of the Common Hangman, before the *Royal Exchange* in *London*, between the Hours of Twelve and One, on Monday the 27th of this Instant, *March*, in the Presence of the Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, and the two Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*.” Would

to God for the sake of our young Nobility and Gentry, they had proceeded some Steps further. But probably God in his Providence may have refer’d the compleating so necessary and salutary a Design, to the great and wise Men of the present Age,—as no time, all Things consider’d, ever was, or very probably

probably ever will be, so proper and seasonable as the present.

I now proceed to the next Reign, where we find Sir *Robert Walpole* to be the great Minister of State, who possess'd more of the Royal Favour and Protection, and for a longer Time, than most other Ministers had done before him.—However, Notwithstanding all his great Talents, and Abilities for Rule and Government, I fear he was a little tardy in this Particular also; and that he always lived in a servile dread of the religious Teachers.—And to support this Suggestion, I could offer sundry Particulars, I will mention but one.—A Gentleman of considerable Rank, and great Abilities, assur'd me, that sometimes he had Opportunities of being with Sir *Robert Walpole* alone, and would enter into a free Conversation with him, on different Subjects; and that he had many times told Sir *Robert* that ever since the present Royal Family came to the Crown, there had been a mighty Difference and Dispute, between them and the University of *Oxford*, and that he was afraid one time or other *Oxford* would get the better of them; and that therefore, the regard the present Ministry had for the Security of his Majesty's Person, Family, and Government, made it Necessary for them to introduce a further Reformation into that University. To which Sir *Robert Walpole* always replied, That
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he never could or would attempt any thing of that Kind ; that he had Work enough upon his Hands, of a different Nature ; and that with all his Art and Address he could but just stand his Ground. However, I must do justice to this Minister, by declaring, that he always very readily acknowledged the Reasonableness, Justice, and Propriety of my Friends Argument; and affirm'd that he hop'd and really believ'd, some future Minister, whose Circumstances and Situation wou'd be less Nice and Critical than his own, wou'd soon arise, and carry this salutary Design into Execution. And here in a peculiar Manner I solicit the Attention of the Reader, while I examine into the Conduct of this University, and thereby see, if what my Friend related to Sir *R. W.* and to the Truth and Reasonableness of which he so readily submitted, was really and strictly True ; or whether the whole was not a false, wicked, and malicious Accusation. In this Enquiry, I shall not amuse myself or the Reader with any thing but Facts,—Facts that are indisputable and uncontroverted, being done and perform'd on the Publick Stage of the World ; and from the Recital of these Facts it will most evidently appear, whether or no, the present Royal Family, our happy Government and Constitution, have ever been in any real danger from the University of *Oxford* or not.—Our Reverend Historian

rian, Mr. *N. Tindall*, speaking of the State and Condition of our University in the Reign of Queen *Ann*, writes as follows, *viz.* “ Our
 “ Universities, especially *Oxford*, had been
 “ very unhappily successful in propagating
 “ Anti-Revolution Principles in all those
 “ who were sent to be bred amongst them,
 “ so that few escap’d the Taint of them; and
 “ the Generality of the Clergy were not
 “ only wrong principled, but ill temper’d;
 “ they exclaim’d against Moderation, as en-
 “ dangering the Church, tho’ it was visible
 “ the Church was in no sort of Danger, ei-
 “ ther from the Number or Interest of Pro-
 “ testant Dissenters, who, by Reason of the
 “ Toleration, are now so quieted, that no-
 “ thing could keep up any Heat in those
 “ Matters, but the bad Humour the Clergy
 “ were possess’d with, and which they infus’d
 “ into all those with whom they had any
 “ Credit: At the same time the great and
 “ visible Danger of Popery, which, on a
 “ Miscarriage in the War, would have broke
 “ in like an irresistible Deluge, was neither
 “ perceived nor apprehended.”—All *Tin-*
dall's own Words, (not my own) *vide* his
 History of Queen *Ann*, Page 646, Vol. III.
 —I could offer fifty Quotations more, from
 the best Writers in *England*, to prove that
 this was the real and genuine Disposition of
Oxford, and had been so for a long time;

but as it is so well known, it would be needless to offer any further Evidence.

On the Accession of his late Majesty to the Throne of these Realms, the Court was daily alarm'd at the Accounts they had of *Oxford*; and were inform'd that a general and universal Spirit of Disloyalty and Disaffection to his Majesty's Person, Family, and Government, prevail'd through that University. Those Accounts were not so much regarded at first, as some Gentlemen thought necessary; however the Affair soon came to be look'd on in a more grave and serious manner: The Court having daily Intelligence of a great Correspondence being carried on, by the Disaffected, in different Parts of the Kingdom, and that this Correspondence all center'd at *Oxford*. They had also an Information, that an Insurrection was actually intended, and the Pretender's Standard was to have been erected on *Mendip*, to which all the Disaffected in *Oxford*, *Bristol*, and *Bath*, were immediately to repair, and to be join'd by the ragged High-Church Rabble of *Somersetshire*, *Oxfordshire*, and *Gloucestershire*, under their respective Leaders; and they pretended, that by the Sound of the Word Church, and a little stale October Beer, such Numbers were to be collected, as would render all Opposition fruitless and unsuccessful. And thus, by this ragged Rout, the Religion, the Laws, and Constitutions of
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this Kingdom, were at once to be demolish'd, and the Pretender and Popery establish'd on its Ruins.—Thanks be to Almighty God, adored be his Name for ever, that we had a Prince on the Throne courageous, brave, wise, steady and resolute; happy for us, happy for our Posterity, that this was the Case, as a Prince of less Resolution and Spirit would probably have found it difficult to have kept Things together.

After many Debates in Council, about the general Disaffection at *Oxford*, and the treasonable Correspondence kept up there with the Disaffected in all other Parts of the Kingdom, together with the intended Insurrection, it was resolved to lay their Hands immediately on the Chancellor of *Oxford*, who was then *James Butler*, Duke of *Ormond*; and in consequence of this Resolution, that brave *Englishman*, General *Stanhope*, on the 21st of *June*, 1715, impeach'd this *Oxford* Chancellor, the Duke of *Ormond*, before the Commons of *England*, in Parliament assembled, of High-Treason, and other high Crimes and Misdemeanors; it having appear'd, beyond all contradiction, that in many notorious Instances he had favour'd the Cause and Interest of the Pretender. The City of *Oxford* behaved with outrageous impudence on the Impeachment of their dear Chancellor; with Language the most opprobrious and reproachful; representing to

all their Party, that the Government was in a State of Weakness and Imbecility, and that, considering the great Popularity of their dear Chancellor, they would not have Strength and Spirit sufficient to bring him to his Tryal. But it was observ'd of the Chancellor, that from the Moment he had heard of his Impeachment, his Spirits began to flag; and soon after finding that Matters were preparing for his publick Tryal, he was so conscious of his Guilt, and the Punishment due to it, that he ran away from Justice; and on the 20th of *July*, at Night, he left his House at *Richmond*, and for the greater Privacy, he took no Servant with him, only one of his Confidants, *Renold*, an *Irish* Papist.—They went immediately to the Coast of *Kent*, and hir'd a small fishing Sloop, and next Day landed in *France*.

As soon as the News of his Flight was known, a Bill immediately pass'd both Houses of Parliament, and had the Royal Assent, to attaint him of High Treason, unless he surrender'd himself by a certain Day.—This *Oxford* Chancellor had no thought of surrendering himself; his Head and Heart was wholly employ'd in contriving Methods to return to *England* with a foreign Force, thereby to fix the Pretender and Popery upon us.—He was received very coldly in *France*, notwithstanding all he pretended to want was a few Troops, and a good Number

ber of Officers. He wickedly and falsely insinuated, that on his Arrival in *England*, eight Parts in ten of the People would declare for the Pretender.—The Time for his Surrender being now elaps'd, another Bill was brought into the House of Commons, attainting him of High-Treason, with a Clause in it offering a Reward to any one that should take him, if he attempted to land in any Part of this Kingdom.—However this Traitor, finding nothing was to be done in *France*, posted away for *Spain*, where he so far impos'd on the weak and infatuated King, that he gave him a few Troops, with which he intended to embark at St. *Sebastian's*, in *Spain*, for some Part of *Ireland*.—Very early Intelligence of this Design got to *Ireland*, and was laid before the Parliament, who, like wise Men, pass'd a Bill of Attainder against him, offering 10,000 *l.* Reward for taking him, in case he attempted to land in that Kingdom.

This News soon reach'd the Court of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Ormond* was terribly chagrin'd at the Conduct of the *Irish*, and the more so as he had boasted to the *Spanish* Court of his great Interest in the *Irish* Parliament; and upon this News, the Imbarkation from St. *Sebastian* was laid aside.—However, soon after this, the Pretender himself got to *Madrid*, where he prevail'd with the King of *Spain* to fit out ten Men of War, and some Transport-Ships, with six thousand

regular Forces on board, and gave the Command of the same to our *Oxford* Chancellor, under the Title of Captain-General.—And this very Man did actually sail from *Cadiz*, for *England*, with this great Force, to extirpate our most holy Religion, our Laws, and Constitution. But when they came to *Cape Finister*, a most violent Storm arose, which lasted two Days and two Nights; the Fleet was dispers'd, most of the Men of War had lost their Masts, and were forced to put into some of the *Spanish* Ports, in a most shatter'd Condition; and the whole Fleet was forced back, except two small Frigates, which a long time after got to *Kingtail*, in *Scotland*. The Troops on board the Fleet suffer'd greatly, and a vast Number of their Horses died.—I will say no more of this *Oxford* Chancellor, who, during his whole Life afterwards, was so abandon'd to all Sense of Honour and Justice, destitute of all Duty, Love, and Respect to his lawful Prince and native Country, that he was many times after in sundry Schemes and Projects to ruin and enslave us.

However, during the time that this Traitor was carrying on these black and hellish Designs, his Name and Character was treated at *Oxford* with the utmost Veneration and Respect, and his Health drank in their public Meetings, as well as in their more private Cabals,—a thousand and a thousand times

times over. And to let the World see they were not ashamed to discover their Regard and Attachment to this wicked Traitor, and as a public Testimony of their Approbation of his diabolical Conduct, they actually chose his Brother, * the Earl of *Arran*, to succeed

* I beg Leave to entertain the Reader with a few Lines, taken out of a long Poem, written at that time, on the Behaviour of *Oxford*.

SINCE Royal *George* has liv'd among 'em,
 Who never in the least did wrong 'em;
 Has he not found them *Semper Idem*?
 Altho' he has with Goodness try'd 'em;
 And ever gave 'em due Protection,
 How have they spread the same Infection?
 Their good Behaviour sev'n Years since,
 Is not forgotten by their Prince.
 And we learn an useful Lesson,
 From some rebellious Priests at *Preston*.
 What tho' they weren't by many join'd,
 Did not the Clergy shew their Mind?
 And to what Side they were inclin'd.
 Did they preach up for Non-Resistance,
 (Or pray that *George* might find Assistance)
 As they were wont to do before,
 When *Anna* this *Corona* wore?
 Did not their preaching plainly imply
 A quite contrary Tendency?
 Did not their gen'ral Conversation,
 Speak loudly for an Alteration?
 That Man that can these Things deny,
 Has a worse Memory than I.
 One of their Brethern grac'd the Gallows,
 For joining with rebellious Fellows:
 Another did the Pill'ry grace,
 And many more deserv'd the Place.

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succeed him, as the Chancellor of their famous, or rather infamous University: And as our⁹ Historian, *Tindall*, says, on the same Day, to conclude and demonstrate their Disaffection, they confer'd the Degree of Doctor of Laws on Sir *John Everard*, a *Non-juror*:—And afterwards, when the Earl of *Arran* came to be sworn, and install'd, the then Vice-Chancellor made a long Speech, wherein he publickly said, they could not better express their Gratitude to his Grace, the Duke of *Ormond*, than they had done, by chusing his Brother in his room;—and highly extoll'd the *Butler* Family, and the great Obligations they had conferr'd on that University.—Can any *Englishman* read this

The Loyalty of *Oxford* shew'd,
 (The Mother of the blessed Brood)
 How greatly she'd assisted the Nation,
 In order to its Preservation.
 For when her Darling *Ormond* fled
 The Land, to save his guilty Head,
 And strait to the Pretender run,
 The Priests applauding what was done;
 Straitway rewarded him by chusing,
 A Person nearer than his Cousin
 To be their Chancellor, and boasted,
 That thus they had the Prince disgusted.
 I hope I've very fully shown,
 How Priests (altho' they swearing own)
 Have kept their Oaths, when swallow'd down;
 Let them be cautious how they boast,
 Of what so long ago they lost;
 And prate no more of their Allegiance,
 Till they can practise more Obedience.

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without being shock'd and amaz'd? The Author trembles in writing it, especially when he considers, that those very Men afterwards were continued to have in Possession that great and important Trust, the Care and Education of the Youth of our Nobility and Gentry. I have really often thought, that many of our Nobility and Gentry have testified more real Concern about the Breed and Management of their Horses, than about the Education of their Sons, otherwise they wou'd not have suffer'd their Sons to be educated in Principles inconsistent with our Religion, and directly opposite to all the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Realm.—Well might that great and wise Man, Mr. *Locke*, tell King *William*, that a great Degree of Ignorance, Blindness, and Obstinacy, must always prevail amongst great Numbers of our Nobility and Gentry, till such time as our Universities, and other Seminaries of Learning, should be either demolish'd, or otherwise brought under a quite new and different Regulation.

Notwithstanding all that has happen'd, *Oxford* still continued acting the same old Game; and that I may not be partial in relating Facts, I chuse to make use of the Words of others, as much as possible. The Reverend Mr. *N. Tindall* says, “ The Government even continued to be inform'd
“ of all that pass'd at *Oxford*, and in particular,
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“ ticular, that Cornet *Owen*, with some
 “ other broken Officers, *Irish* Papists, and
 “ several notorious Jacobites, had taken
 “ Sanctuary in that Place, and fomented
 “ the Spirit of Rebellion, drinking publicly
 “ and uncontroll’d the Pretender’s Heath :
 “ And it being justly suspected that they de-
 “ sign’d an Insurrection, in order to act in
 “ conjunction with the Disaffected at *Bristol*
 “ and *Bath*, with whom they held Intelli-
 “ gence, it was resolved to secure these Per-
 “ sons. Major-General *Pepper* being charg’d
 “ with this Commission, sent one of his
 “ Officers, disguis’d in a Countryman’s Ha-
 “ bit, to *Oxford*, to get Intelligence, and to
 “ view the Avenues and principal Posts of
 “ the Town, and then began to move him-
 “ self, with his Regiment of Dragoons, and
 “ a Detachment of *Tyrrell’s*, bending his
 “ March towards *Bath* : But on the 5th of
 “ *October*, being within seven Miles of *Ox-*
 “ *ford*, instead of resting, he march’d all
 “ Night, and enter’d the City at Six o’Clock
 “ in the Morning, having caus’d his Men
 “ to alight, and fix their Bayonets on the
 “ Muzzles of their Fuzees.—He imme-
 “ diately secur’d all the Gates and Avenues;
 “ he then sent for the Vice-Chancellor, de-
 “ liver’d a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Stan-*
 “ *hope*, adding, his Business there was to
 “ secure eighteen suspected Persons, and de-
 “ sir’d him to keep all the Fellows and
 “ Scholars

“ Scholars quiet in their Colleges ; declar-
 “ ing to him at the same time, that if any
 “ Disturbance happen’d, or if any of them
 “ assembled in the Streets, above the Num-
 “ ber allow’d by Act of Parliament against
 “ Riots, he would cause his Men to fire,
 “ upon them.”—Vol. IV. Page 442. All
Tindall’s own Words.

General *Pepper* immediately secur’d Ten out of the Eighteen on his List : — The other eight, he was inform’d, were conceal’d in some of the Colleges ; and thinking it would be impossible to find them, he march’d off again towards *Abington*.—One of the Ten secur’d at *Oxford*, was a Gentleman in the Dress of a Post-boy, who that very Morning came in from *Bath* : General *Pepper* search’d him very carefully, and found in the Lining of his Coat a large Packet of Letters, from the Conspirators of *Bath* to those of *Oxford*, and which Letters appear’d to be of very great Consequence.—It might have been expected, says the Annalist, that the University of *Oxford* would have taken Warning from this short military Visit ; but it soon appear’d, that this Seminary of Learning, and Fountain of Loyalty, was turn’d into a *Sink of Debauchery and School of Sedition*. These are the Words of the Annalist, and not my own. What sort of Gentlemen must those be, who send their Sons to this Place to be educated in the Principles of Religion,
 Morality,

Morality and Government ; O the rare Heads of them. *Tindall* again, “ It might have
 “ been expected, that the University of *Ox-*
 “ *ford* would have taken warning by this
 “ short military Visit :—But the Court
 “ had fresh Information, that the Disaffected
 “ there persisted in their disrespectful Be-
 “ haviour towards the King’s Person and
 “ Government ; and even that a traiterous
 “ Design was carrying on to seize that City
 “ for the Pretender, for which Purpose a
 “ Regiment was to be form’d of the young
 “ Students, under proper Officers, who se-
 “ cretly resorted to *Oxford* ; whereupon the
 “ Court thought fit to order *Handaside*’s Re-
 “ giment of Foot to be quarter’d there : Ac-
 “ cordingly they march’d there the 28th of
 “ *October* ; and their Arrival was the more
 “ seasonable, as the very Night before the
 “ Rabble had the Insolence to proclaim the
 “ Pretender, and to commit several Outra-
 “ ges against the Well-affected.” —All the
 Words of the Reverend Mr. *Tindall*, Vol.
 IV. Page 443, (not my own.)

About this time died Dr. *Tadlow*, Regius Professor of Physick at *Oxford*, in the Absence of Dr. *Hoy*, who was at *Jamaica*. The late Queen had appointed Dr. *Tadlow* to be Dr. *Hoy*’s Deputy.—Every body knows ’tis the undoubted Right of the Crown to appoint the Regius-Professor and his Deputy ; and in consequence of this Right, his Majesty named
 Dr.

Dr. *Lasket*, a learned and worthy Physician. — The then Vice-Chancellor openly declar'd he would not admit the King's Nomination; and in opposition to the King's Right, nominated and appointed another Person. About the same time, at *Oxford*, there was a Meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and all the Heads of the Colleges, on some particular Occasion. — Dr. *Dunster*, Warden of *Wadham* College, made a Motion to address his Majesty, and was supported by Dr. *Wynne*, the then Bishop of *St. Asaph*. — This Motion was most outrageously oppos'd, by almost all the Reverend Assembly.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* propos'd that they might address on three different Heads, *viz.* The Suppression of the unnatural Rebellion; The King's safe Return from *Hanover*; and, The very great Favour shewn by the Court to the University, in granting their late Request, that the Effigies of the Devil, Pope, and Pretender might not be burnt, as some Officers of the Army had intended: To prevent which burning, the Vice-Chancellor actually wrote a Letter to Mr. Secretary *Methuen*; and Mr. *Pultney*, Secretary of War, by direction of the Secretaries of State, wrote an Answer to the Vice-Chancellor, importing, That in regard to the loyal University of *Oxford*, Orders had been sent to the Officers to prevent the burning either of the Devil, Pope, or Pretender: But as to the

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the Business of the Address, it was resolved by this very reverend Assembly, that no Address should be presented to his Majesty.— One *Eves*, a Student of *Oriel* College in *Oxford*, took it in his Head publickly to abuse his Majesty, and to treat his Name and Character with the utmost Rudeness and Indecency. Mr. *Staford*, a modest sober Gentleman, of the same College, reproved him smartly for his Rashness and Impudence: *Eves*, without more ado, stab'd him in the Belly with his Pen-knife, and then ran away, to avoid falling into the Hands of Justice. Two strange Gentlemen were walking the Streets of *Oxford*, a noted Barber of the Town came out of one of the Colleges, cursing and damning the King,—declaring in the publick Streets, he would acknowledge no King but the Pretender. The two Gentlemen got the Fellow before the Vice-Chancellor, and swore point blank to the many treasonable Words and Expressions he had repeated in the open Street. When the Fellow came afterwards to take his Trial, the Court was surpris'd; the Vice-Chancellor had only indicted him for an Assault, and made no mention at all about the treasonable Words. I presume this was the same Vice-Chancellor who, as *Tindall* says, was so bold as to make a publick Oration, in Praise of the Duke of *Ormond*, a few Days after he was attainted of High-Treason, by the Commons

mons of *England* in Parliament assembled. —At *Oxford* Affizes Bills of Indictment were found against one *Mathews*, an Inn-keeper there, with Mr. *Sterling* and Mr. *Wood*, of *Baliol* College, for publicly cursing the King and Government. —One *Nickols*, of *Exeter* College, and several Popish Recusants, were also try'd, and condem'd, for publicly drinking the Health of *Ormond* and *Bolingbrook*, two Persons attainted for Treason. In short, the Disaffection there, to our Religion, Laws, and Government, was so open and notorious, that it would be impossible to relate all the Particulars of it. Their Conduct was so scandalous and provoking, that there is no Need of Proof to fix it upon them. It is visible they glory'd in it; and as much as it reflected on their Honesty and Understanding, were as proud of their Disobedience to the best of Kings, as they had formerly been of their mean and abject Submission to the worst. —However, I will mention one Instance more. —On the 30th of *October*, the same Year, being the Birth-Day of his present Majesty, the then Prince of *Wales*, —Major *Doffranville*, belonging to the Troops, finding no Notice was intended to be taken of the Day, ———about Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon, he waited on the Mayor, one *Richard Wire*, and told him, in a modest Gentleman-like manner, that he wonder'd no Regard was paid

to his Royal Highness's Birth-Day, by ringing of Bells ;——and that he was sorry to see so much Disrespect shewn to the Prince of *Wales*.——The Mayor receiv'd him in a very rude insolent manner, pretended he did not know it was the Prince of *Wales*'s Birth-Day, and gave him a very shuffling Answer.——Whereupon the Major told him, he would draw out his Regiment, and celebrate the Day with proper Rejoicings ; which he did accordingly : But the Mayor, instead of joyning in the said Rejoicings, soon after appear'd in the Streets, attended by a great lawless Rabble ; many of them insulted the Soldiers in their March, gave them opprobrious Language, and threw Dirt at them. In the Evening some Windows were illuminated, belonging to the Well-affected, but the Rabble broke them all to Pieces.——However, in the Evening, the Major, his Officers, and some few of the Town, had the Courage to make a Bonfire in the Street, near the Star Inn, and there drank his Majesty's Health, the Prince and Princess of *Wales*, and many other loyal Healths : And after the Soldiers had fir'd three Rounds, they were dismiss'd, and the Gentlemen repair'd to the Star Inn.——The making a Bonfire, and drinking the King and Prince of *Wales*'s Health, could not fail of raising the Indignation of the University to a very great degree.

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The Soldiers had no sooner turn'd their Backs but a Mob appear'd, demolish'd the Windows of the Star Inn, and violently threw great Stones into the Room wherein they sat ; and if the Soldiers had not immediately return'd, this would, in all probability, have ended in Murder and Bloodshed.—The Major and his Officers began to grow quite angry, at the many Insults they had receiv'd that Day, and immediately order'd the Soldiers to be drawn up, and declar'd to the Mob, that if they did not retire directly, the Soldiers should have Orders to fire ; upon which they began to scamper at once.

I mention this single Riot, because it was soon after brought before the House of Lords ; and it appear'd to that Assembly, by the Depositions of Lieutenant *Hamilton*, and other Gentlemen of Note, that this Mob was rais'd and spirited up by the Students and Gownsmen ; and that a great Number of them appear'd, with Swords drawn, in a Lane over against the Star Inn, at the time the Windows were demolish'd. *Atterbury*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and two or three more of the same Stamp, were so weak as to attempt a Justification of the University, in the Business of this Riot ; but this venerable Assembly were too wise and learned, to be impos'd on by their episcopal Nonsense and Sophistry. Lord *Cuningſby* desir'd he might have the Honour to answer those reverend

Divines, which he did with great Warmth and Spirit, and concluded with the following Words: “ That he knew the Usage of
 “ the University to have been quite different
 “ from what the Bishops had represented ;
 “ and that in the Reign of King *Charles II.*
 “ and King *James II.* they had express’d
 “ their Loyalty in an extraordinary manner,
 “ and made such great Advances in counte-
 “ nancing an unlimited Power in the Prince,
 “ that if Providence had not miraculously
 “ interpos’d, they had, as far as in their
 “ Power lay, destroy’d the Liberties of their
 “ Country.”

Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, the Duke of *Kingston*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord *Parker*, Lord *Cadogan*, and many others, spoke vehemently against the Conduct of the University of *Oxford*, painting out their real Designs in Colours administering the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation.—At last the House of Lords came to a formal Resolution : It is too long for me to transcribe : In this Resolution they highly condemn’d the Conduct of the University, the Mayor, and Gownsmen ; and in a very particular manner they justify Major *Doffranville*, his Officers and Soldiers.

I now come to take Notice of another notorious Outrage and Cruelty, committed at *Oxford* about the same time.—This Account I shall take chiefly from the Journal
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of that learned and ingenious Gentleman *Thomas Story*, Esq; He made the Tour of *England*, and kept a Journal of all the most remarkable Occurrences that happen'd.—Mr. *Story's* Account does not differ much from our other Historians; but I chuse to make use of his Testimony, as he was a Gentleman of unquestionable Veracity.—He was at *Oxford* when those Riots happen'd, and saw, with his own Eyes, the Account he has given us of it.—*Vide Story's Journal*, Page 474.—“ He says, on the 28th I got
 “ to *Oxford*, which was the 28th of *March*;
 “ 1715,—and that Afternoon I went to
 “ most of the Colleges in the City, and
 “ view'd the Buildings and Gardens, which,
 “ in their Kinds, are very pleasant and com-
 “ modious :—But when I consider'd that
 “ Load and Power of Darkeness that even
 “ then prevail'd, it was an Over-balance to
 “ any Satisfaction that I had therein, and
 “ which soon afterwards shew'd itself in an
 “ extraordinary mannner: For the same
 “ Evening, at about Nine o'Clock, the City
 “ was all in an Uproar; a great Mob of the
 “ Scholars, and others, appear'd in the
 “ Streets, cursing and damning the Presby-
 “ terians, declaring they were going to gut
 “ their Meeting-house, as they call'd it.
 “ They began with demolishing all the
 “ Glais-Windows; they unhung the Doors,
 “ and carried them out in the Streets; they
 “ presently

“ presently tore down all the Wainscots
 “ round the Walls, and demolish’d the Seats,
 “ and carried every thing out in the Streets,
 “ broke it all to Pieces, and set it on fire,
 “ and continued there till all was quite burnt
 “ and destroy’d, so that nothing remain’d
 “ but the Roof and bare Walls.—But be-
 “ fore they dismiss’d, they declar’d openly,
 “ that the Quaker’s Meeting-house should
 “ be reserv’d till the next Night, and then
 “ it should undergo the same Fate.—The
 “ next Morning the few Quakers in the
 “ City drew up a sort of Petition, and got
 “ a Friend to wait on the Mayor with it,
 “ wherein they implor’d his Protection, as
 “ being the principal Civil Officer in the
 “ Town: They beg’d and intreated him to
 “ interpose in favour of their Meeting-house,
 “ against which the Mob of Scholars, in
 “ the preceding Night, had vow’d Destruction:—But I can’t find the Mayor took
 “ any the least Notice of this Petition. Ac-
 “ cordingly, at Nine o’Clock that Night,
 “ the Mob of Scholars, and others, began
 “ to assemble in a riotous tumultuous man-
 “ ner, damning and cursing the Quakers,
 “ declaring they were Offenders equal to
 “ the Presbyterians, and that both Parties
 “ had voted in some former Election for a
 “ low Member of Parliament, and therefore
 “ their Meeting-house should undergo the
 “ same Fate.”

Here,

Here, says Mr. *Story*, “ I observ’d before
 “ they came to the House, Satan seem’d
 “ even to rage in them, and to have blown
 “ them up, by his infernal Breath, into a
 “ Temper fit for such an Action.” *Story’s*
 own Words, who saw it with his own Eyes.
 “ Having gain’d Experience by the Trans-
 “ actions of the preceeding Night, they,
 “ with great Dexterity, did the Business at
 “ the Quakers Meeting-house, exactly in the
 “ same manner as they had served the Pres-
 “ byterian Meeting-house.—They broke
 “ open the Doors, and not only carried
 “ away all the Forms and Seats that were
 “ loose, but tore down and demolish’d all
 “ the Wainscot and Stanchions.—There
 “ was another Room adjoining to the Meet-
 “ ing-house, belonging to the Quakers,
 “ which they also defac’d in the same man-
 “ ner, and in a very short time burnt it all
 “ to Ashes, in the open Street. This Busi-
 “ ness being dispatch’d with more Expedi-
 “ tion than was expected, they then set up
 “ a Cry, That the Baptist Meeting-house
 “ should not stand alone; and they presently
 “ went and gutted that also, (as their Term
 “ is) that is, they treated it exactly in the
 “ same Manner as they had done the two
 “ other Meeting-houses. This brought it
 “ to about Twelve o’Clock at Night; and
 “ one wou’d now really have thought their
 “ Minds, by this time, shou’d have been

“ fatiated with Violence and Plunder. But
 “ the Devil had more work for them that
 “ Night; for from the Baptist Meeting-
 “ house they went directly to one Mrs.
 “ *Nicholls*, a Widow Gentlewoman, and vio-
 “ lently broke into the House; they demo-
 “ lish’d all the Glass Windows, and tore
 “ them all to Shivers; they defac’d the Beds,
 “ broke a great Part of the Furniture. One
 “ of her Servants receiv’d great Hurt by a
 “ Stone, and lost a great deal of Blood:
 “ For the next Morning the Stones and Dirt
 “ thrown into the House appear’d to be se-
 “ veral hundred Weight. A little after One
 “ in the Morning they quitted the House, to
 “ the no small Joy of the poor Family, who
 “ were glad to have escap’d with their Lives,
 “ which they imagin’d to have been in great
 “ Danger. But this was not all yet.—They
 “ went to the House of Mr. *Thomas Nicholls*,
 “ Junior, and let fly several Vollies of Stones
 “ into all the front Windows. Mr. *Nicholls*
 “ took his Wife, his Family of small Chil-
 “ dren, and two strange Gentlemen that
 “ lodg’d with them that Night, and fix’d
 “ them all in a particular Corner of the
 “ Stair-case, where they remain’d a confi-
 “ derable time, expecting every Moment
 “ they would have broke open the Doors:
 “ But they did not; they contented them-
 “ selves with demolishing the Windows,
 “ and damaging a great deal of the Furni-
 “ ture.

“ niture. The next Day the Scholars went
 “ about, by Drove and Hundreds, to see
 “ how their Ravages and Devastation would
 “ appear in broad Day-light. When they
 “ came to Mr. *Nicholls's* House he went
 “ out amongst them, and in a pertinent
 “ modest manner ask'd them aloud what
 “ Pretence they could make either to Learn-
 “ ing or Religion? He told them, That
 “ the same Evil Spirit wrought in them, as
 “ did formerly in that wicked Generation
 “ at *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*; and that if they
 “ continued in their wicked Practices, they
 “ might reasonably expect some severe De-
 “ struction.—He likewise remark'd to
 “ them, that tho' they would probably
 “ escape all human Punishment, yet that
 “ God-Almighty was just, to whom they
 “ would be accountable for their Violence
 “ and Injustice to honest innocent People,
 “ who had never done any Hurt or Injury
 “ to them in any Shape. The Scholars
 “ reply'd, It was all done by the Mob:
 “ Whereupon Mr. *Nicholls*, and others, an-
 “ swer'd aloud, That they themselves were
 “ the Mob.—Mr. *Nicholls* might have
 “ sav'd himself this Trouble, and as well
 “ have talk'd to the Wind.”

I don't believe half the Places in *England*
 put together, could have furnish'd out ano-
 ther such a wicked, senseless, and lawless
 Crew.—Mr. *Story's* Reflections on what
 he

he had seen at *Oxford*, are so pertinent and judicious, that I shall relate some of them.—This great and good Man asks,—Can this be the Effects of Religion and Learning? Certainly no : This Place is one of the blind Eyes of our poor Nation : Its a corrupt Fountain of Religion ; for I fear the whole Land will be poison'd and undone. What sort of Religion can flow from hence into the People of the Nation?—And what Learning can they pretend to, who are even destitute of the Principles of common Humanity?—For of all the Places I have ever been at, these Scholars at *Oxford* appear to me to be the most rude, the most mischievous and unruly Rable. Take Notice here, this very Gentleman, Mr. *Story*, who solemnly gives this in writing under his Hand, had not only been in most Parts of *Europe*, but through great Part of *America*, and had been much conversant with the *Indians*, and was well acquainted with their Laws, Manners, and Customs;—and yet you see what he says of *Oxford*. (*Vide Story's Life*, Page 474, 528, 649, 675, and 715.)

The People of *Oxford*, in general, seem'd well enough pleas'd with the Demolition of the Meeting-houses, but they loudly exclaim'd against their attacking the House of the Widow *Nicholls*, representing her as a very innocent, inoffensive Gentlewoman, and that she could not have done any thing to
have

have merited such cruel Usage. But the Scholars, in their Vindication, affirm'd, she had many Relations and Friends, who always voted for low Members; and they imagin'd that it was by her Influence, and that consequently she richly deserved her late Treatment.—But to speak out the naked Truth, the real Reason why the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers had drawn upon themselves the Resentment of this Rable, was because they were all, to a Man, hearty in the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and the then Government, in opposition to the Pretender and Popery; this was the grand Reason.

I am no Lawyer, and so can't pretend to say how far those Rioters might have been punish'd by the Laws of this Kingdom:—But this I will take upon me to affirm, That if this Violence and Outrage had been committed in (what we call) the wild and most inhospitable Regions of *Africa* and *America*, the Rioters would certainly have been punish'd with Death,—and with all the particular Severities the Laws of those Countries allow.

And for this I could produce many Instances from *Salmon's History of Africa*, and *Dampier's Account of the Laws and Customs of the Indians in America*. I am almost tired with this Subject, and to bring it to a Conclusion, will skip over all that mean and pitiful Management from the Year

1715, to the late Rebellion. Was their Conduct, during this long Tract of time, examin'd and particularized, and honestly and fairly animadverted upon, it would appear they are no changelings. As to their Behaviour during the late Rebellion, I can have no Books or Records to have recourse to, the Affair being so recent.—However I will assert one Fact, and affirm it to be religiously true: Since the Defeat of the Rebels, by the ever memorable Victory at *Culloden*, I myself spent some time at *Oxford*, and had the Honour of the Friendship and Intimacy of a worthy Gentleman, the Head of a very considerable College.—This Gentleman assur'd me, that its surprizing to consider and reflect on the then Disaffection and Disloyalty of that University; and that when the News of the Defeat of General *Cope* reach'd *Oxford*, it was visible to every one, from the Countenances of the People, who were pleas'd and who were not;—and on that occasion they had many private Cabals in the University: The Pretender's Health was drank,—and his present Majesty's Person, Family, and Government, were spoke of in Terms the most reproachful and opprobrious:—And also, that for a long time after the glorious Victory of *Culloden*, they could not speak of his Royal Highness, the Duke of *Cumberland*, even with common Decency; but would represent

represent him to have acted towards the Rebels in a butcherly manner, and contrary to the Laws and Rules of War, and would call it a Massacre. O horrible ! what abandon'd and profligate Wretches must those be, who would load the Name and Character of our *British* Hero with Reproach and Disgrace ; who underwent almost insupportable Fatigue, and hazarded his valuable Life to vanquish a Crew the most wicked and abandon'd that ever the World saw ; and by this very Victory, secur'd all that was dear and valuable to us, both as Protestants and *Englishmen*.—This Gentleman further assur'd me, that two very loyal Sermons were, about this time, preach'd at the University Church, wherein the Preachers roundly asserted and maintained, that it now became the Duty of every one openly to profess their hearty Attachment to the Protestant Religion, and the present Government, in opposition to the Claims of the Pretender and Popery.

Those two Persons finding their Sermons had given great disgust to the University, to vindicate themselves, they determin'd to print them, and accordingly greatly importun'd the Vice-Chancellor to grant them his Imprimatur, without which I apprehend they could not print them at *Oxford*.—The Vice-Chancellor peremptorly refus'd to grant it, whereby the two very worthy Clergymen
were

were oblig'd to print them at *London*. I have read over both these Sermons with great Attention, and could not find one single Expression that could possibly offend any Man, that did not lean a little to the Cause and Interest of the Pretender.—The Preachers of those two Sermons were, the Reverend Mr. *Francis Potter*, M. A. Vicar of *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*,—and the Reverend Mr. *John Free*, D. D. and Vicar of *Runcom* in *Cheshire*.—I say these Facts were related to me at *Oxford*, since the glorious and ever memorable Victory at *Culloden*, by the worthy Head of a College, whose Name I am ready to mention, if ever properly call'd upon to do it.

As to the present great Officer at *Oxford*, and the Students that are now under legal Prosecution, for high Crimes and Misdemeanors, said to have been committed at *Oxford*, on the Birth-day of one of the Pretender's Sons; here, as an *Englishman*, give me Leave to say,—That all the People of *England*, (I mean the honest, the wise, the brave and virtuous Part of the People) demand a fair, open, and candid Trial.—If the Accusation, brought against them, appear to be false and malicious, let them be publicly and honourably acquitted; but if they appear to be guilty,—*Fiat Justitia*,—let Justice be done.—

For

For God's Sake let there be no straining of Laws, no artful Contrivances to defeat the Design and Intention of our Laws, no Suppression of Evidences, that those Criminals (if they should appear to be so) may escape with Impunity. What Punishment is too severe, what Ignominy and Reproach is too great for those Persons, who shall openly and publicly endeavour to destroy the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Realm ; and shall so far vitiate and corrupt the Minds of the Youth of our Nobility and Gentry, as to engage them deliberately to prefer the Cause and Interest of the Pretender and Popery, in opposition to the Protestant Religion, and the present Government.

Well might the Annalist cry out, O this Sink of Debauchery ! O this School of Sedition ! And give me Leave to ask in my turn, what sort of Mortals must those Gentry be, who send their Sons to *Oxford* to be instructed in the Principles of Religion, Morality, and Government ? Don't we live to see in our own Days, the Prediction of that venerable and great Man, Mr. *Locke*, ratified and confirmed, when he declared to King *William*, that great Blindness, Ignorance, and Obstinacy must unavoidably prevail in this Kingdom, till such time as our Universities and Schools are brought under a quite new and different Regulation.

When

When I sit down and calmly reflect on that extraordinary Mildness and Clemency with which our Government has always treated this famous University, ever since the Accession of the present royal Family to the Crown of these Realms, I can truly say I am fill'd with Surprize and Astonishment at their monstrous black and ungrateful Returns. The Generosity and Tendernefs of the Crown towards them, instead of inspiring them with Sentiments of Gratitude, the natural Effect of such Treatment upon all generous Minds, has only fill'd them with a disdainful Insult and Triumph: They have, upon all Occasions, enjoy'd the Protection of those Laws they daily trample upon, and of that Government which they daily insult.

I am far, very far, from envying them any Privileges they enjoy, or any reasonable Liberty they can plead for; but the Liberty of reducing a brave and free People to a Nation of Slaves, is such a Liberty as God Almighty grant they may never enjoy. Had they any Sense of Gratitude, Generosity, or Honour, this would be a strong Tie upon them, and induce them to preserve, at least, some Shew of Decency towards that Government which has so long protected them, and indulged them in the Possession of so great a Degree of Wealth and Power.

I have now done with this our famous University, and submit all to the Reader's
calm

calm and serious Reflection.—And from what has been already suggested, it must appear beyond all possible Contradiction, that all the Rebellions, Mischiefs, and Miseries that have ever befallen this poor Nation since the Revolution, have been entirely occasion'd by our publick Universities and Schools.—It's there the Minds of our Youth have been corrupted and depraved, both in their Notions of Religion, Morality, and Government: There they have had their young and tender Minds early impress'd with the Seeds and Spirit of Disloyalty and Disaffection to our Government, Laws, and Constitution; and from hence arises an absolute and indispensable Necessity of setting up some new and extraordinary Reformation in our Universities and publick Schools.—I have another Reason to offer why this Reformation shou'd not be neglected and delay'd, which tho' it may seem an unpolite and unfashionable one, yet I will venture it: It is a generally received Opinion, that Religion and Vertue, for many Years past, is greatly on the decline in this Kingdom, and that Vice, Profaness, Immorality, together with a horrid Contempt of God, and Neglect of his Worship, have made a surprizing Spread through all Ranks and Degrees amongst us; and that this general Corruption of Manners began first in those of high Rank and Quality, and by their Influence, Example, and Authority,

Authority, soon became universal amongst those of the middle and lower Station.

I will not pretend to determine absolutely if this Suggestion be true or not, I really fear there is too much Truth in it : And if we trace this to its first Rise and Foundation, it will presently appear to be occasion'd by the present Methods of Education in our publick Schools and Universities, where sufficient Care is not taken to impress the young and tender Minds of our Nobility and Gentry with the great Importance of Religion, and how it naturally conduces to the publick and private Happiness of Mankind, even in this World as well as the next.—But this Matter has been most shamefully neglected ; and for want of a greater Strictness in their Management and Discipline, our Youth have been permitted to run into a Course of Vice, Immorality, and Extravagance, all which wou'd at once be prevented by the Reformation here propos'd ; as none then wou'd be trusted with the Education of our Youth, but such as were of very exemplary Lives and Conversations, and who had their own Minds seriously impress'd with the Belief of a God, and a future State of Rewards and Punishments, and also of the very great Importance it is to the publick and national Welfare, that our Nobility and Gentry should be Men fearing God, and hateing Covetousness.—In all Kingdoms and Nations under
Heaven,

Heaven, it is consistent with the strictest Rules of Prudence and Policy, in Kings, Princes, Rulers, and Ministers of State, that they become religious Men themselves : Religion in a Magistrate strengthens his Authority ; it procures Veneration, and gains a Reputation to it :—And in all Affairs of this World, so much Reputation is really so much Power.—Religion, Honour, and Vertue, when they appear in Men of a low Degree, will command a sort of Reverence and Respect ; but in Persons of eminent Rank and Dignity, they appear to so great an Advantage, as even to cast a Lustre on all they do or say.—Vice and Immorality lessens Greatness, and unavoidably throws a Contempt and Disrespect on Authority itself.

It has been an agreed Determination, by the best and wisest Politicians that this World has ever produced, that Religion and Vertue are the great Causes of publick Happiness and Prosperity in every Nation and Kingdom : This the Scripture declares to be the settled Course of God's Providence, That a righteous Nation shall be happy, the Work of Righteousness shall be Peace, Quietness, and Assurance for ever ; and this is confirm'd by the History of all Ages, both Sacred and Profane. We find the interchangable Providence of God towards the People of *Israel*, suited to their Manners ; they were constantly prospered or afflicted, according as Religion

flourish'd or declin'd amongst them ; and the Case has been exactly the same with all other Nations. The *Roman* Empire stood firm whilst they retain'd their antient Probity and Vertue ; but no sooner did they fall into a general Corruption and Depravity of Manners, but the Foundations of their Empire were shaken, and soon after demolish'd. I won't pretend to say that God, in the Administration of his Justice, is ty'd down to Precedents, yet there is a great deal of Reason to believe, that God will deal thus with all Nations, because the Reason of those Dispensations seems to be perpetual, and founded upon that which can never change, the eternal and unalterable Justice and Rectitude of the divine Providence.

I am sensible I shall here be told by some, that there is no such thing as a Providence superintending human Affairs ; that 'tis a meer Chimera, and that all Affairs and Events in the World depend on natural and second Causes alone. Admitting this to be really the Case, yet, even then, it is demonstrable, that Religion and Vertue in a Nation, is the grand Source and Foundation of publick Happiness and Prosperity : For in any Nation where Religion prevails, and is properly encourag'd, agreeable to the natural Tendency of Things, it will have a good Influence upon the People, it will make them obedient to the Government, and oblige them

them to live conformable to Laws, and peaceable to one another : Besides, it is most certainly the greatest Obligation upon Conscience, to the honourable and equitable Discharge of all publick Offices, and of all moral Duties.—Chastity, Temperance, and Industry do, in their own Nature, tend to Health and Plenty ; Truth and Fidelity, in all our Transactions, does naturally create mutual Love, Good-will, and Confidence among Men.—Intemperance and Lust naturally breed Infirmary and Diseases, which, when propagated and become general, spoil and ruin the Race and Strain of a Nation.—When Men are obedient to a Government, meerly out of fear of the Power of a Magistrate, which is the Case in many Places, this is a weak and loose Principle of Obedience ; and this Principle will cease, and be no more, when Men can rebel with Safety and Advantage. But that of Conscience is a firm, lasting, and constant Principle, and will hold a Man fast, when all other Obligations will break. I know it has been the Opinion of some, that Government may subsist without the Belief of a Deity, or a future State of Rewards and Punishments. I'll grant some sort of Government may even then subsist, as the Necessities of human Nature, and the Mischiefs arising from perpetual Confusion, wou'd compel Men to enter into some kind

of Order ; but then this Government wou'd want its firmeſt Baſis and Foundation.—And there wou'd be infinitely more Diſorders in the World, if Men were reſtrain'd from Injuſtice and Violence by human Laws only, and not by Principles of Conſcience, and the Dread of another World.—If it be true that our Nobility and Gentry are more vicious and profane, in their Morals and Manners, than their fore Fathers, the Fault muſt lye entirely at the Door of thoſe who have been intruſted with their Education.—It is Education alone that makes and forms the human Mind ; and this, with all wiſe and conſiderate Men, will be deem'd as an unanſwerable Argument in favour of the Reformation here propos'd, and by which our Youth wou'd be brought under a quite different Management and Diſcipline ; — the happy Conſequence of which, wou'd be the Reſtoration of that Religion, that ſolid and ſubſtantial Vertue, that plain and unaffected Piety which is reported to have flouriſh'd in the Days of our immediate fore Fathers.

With regard to our national Church, it has been the calm and deliberate Opinion of many good and great Men, that there is ſtill retain'd in its Doctrines, Worſhip, and Diſcipline, a good deal of Abſurdity and Contradiſtion, which was introduc'd by the Weakneſs and Wickedneſs of Eccleſiaſticks of former Ages.—And this Perſwaſion is become

become almost general ; and as Light and Knowledge increase in the World, it will grow more and more universal : And really it affords me no small Pleasure when I consider, that great Numbers of the best and wisest Men of the present Age, seem well inclin'd to remedy those Disorders and Abuses, in a calm and gentle Manner.

With regard to our Schools, it is well known that there have been, and that there even now remain in this Kingdom, those private Seminaries, where the Seeds of Disloyalty and Disaffection to the Government are inculcated into the young and tender Minds of our Youth. The Notoriety of this Fact is so evident, as makes all particular Instances unnecessary. — I have now by me sufficient Proofs of this to exhibit, if ever I should be properly call'd upon for the same.

Having now clearly prov'd the absolute Necessity of a further Reformation in our national Church, Universities, and Schools, and pointed out some of the unspeakable Advantages that must arise from it, — I come, in the last Place, to prove the Legality of such a Reformation, and to demonstrate, beyond all possible contradiction, that whenever the publick Authority, that is the Legislature, shall attempt to carry this salutary Design into Execution, that such a Procedure will be perfectly consistent with all the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of

these Realms.—And as in the further Prosecution of this Design I shall frequently mention the Word Church, I wou'd be understood to mean the Church of *England*, as by Law establish'd. It is this Church I shall now undertake to defend and maintain.

Its well known to all that have read our ecclesiastical History, that the Reformation in *England* was begun and carry'd on by Laymen, not only without but against the Consent of the whole Body of the Clergy; (very few excepted) they oppos'd every Step towards their own Amendment; it was a general Struggle and Insurrection of the awaken'd Laiety, against the Pride, Insolence, and Oppression of the Priests, who, by a thousand false and delusive Arts, had cheated them of their Estates, impos'd on their Consciences, insulted their Persons, and brought them to the lowest Degree of Servitude, and frequently debauch'd their Wives and Daughters into the Bargain. The chief Direction of this Reformation was left to the Lay Gentlemen. They consider'd it as an Opportunity put by Heaven into their Hands, to free themselves from those unjust and intolerable Usurpations.—At this time the Priests were not wanting to preserve, by all possible Methods, their most exorbitant Dominion. They set up all over the Kingdom, a knavish Cry of the Danger of the Church, and that Sacrilege was the most damnable of all Sins; but to their unspeakable Grief, they saw their old Game
wou'd

wou'd now stand them in no stead. The Lay Reformers went boldly on; they seiz'd and apply'd to publick Uses such immense Wealth and Riches, as even exceeds all Imagination, which the Clergy, for many Ages, had gone on extorting from old Women, and superstitious Bigots, by Compositions for Murders, publick and private Robberies, besides an infinite Number of Estates they had wrested out of private Families, under a Pretence they were given to them by their Friends, in their last dying Moments, to procure them a safe Passage to Heaven.

Thus Matters stood at the Time of the Reformation; but for many Centuries prior to the Reformation, the Clergy had always been exceeding troublesome and vexatious to the civil Power, by endeavouring to establish an independant ecclesiastical Constitution, abstracted from the civil Power, and under no manner of Controul from any human Power or Authority whatever; pretending they were the Ambassadors of God, that their Persons were sacred, and that they exercised all ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by the Vertue of a divine Right.—Nothing certainly can be more absurd and ridiculous than two independant Powers in the same Society:—And in order to set up and establish this wicked and impious Claim, they have, in Places and Times without Number,

fill'd the World with Violence, Outrage, Rapine, and Cruelty.

I am now to prove, by our ancient Histories and Records, that this Claim of the Clergy was never admitted in *England*, even in Times of the greatest Darkness and Ignorance, and for many Centuries prior to the Reformation, but that even the Church was treated by the Government as meer Creatures, and Productions of the civil Power, to whom it owed its very Being and Existence, and from whom alone it derived all its Wealth, Power, Influence, and Authority. — To suppose two independant Powers ruling the Body Politick, is as absurd as to suppose two Souls, independent of each other, to govern the Body Natural: Two Heads to the same Body, whether Natural or Political, can serve to no other End than to make a Monster of it.

The Supposition of two independent Powers in one State or Society, naturally tends to destroy and subvert all Order and Government in the World, — and must unavoidably introduce the utmost Anarchy and Confusion. — All supreme and independent Power must be indivisible; and he who has any such Power in Ecclesiasticals, must have it in Civils. — If the Clergy hold their Offices by a divine Commission, the Magistrate can have no Right to debar or hinder their executing them: — Surely he ought not to pretend

tend to suspend or supersede a Commission from Heaven. " But this Claim of the Clergy, to exercise any Power or Jurisdiction by Vertue of a divine Right, is, in its own Nature, ridiculous and absurd, productive of the worst of Consequences, and was never admitted, even in Times of the greatest Ignorance.—As far back as the Year 755, by Writ or Grant of *Kenulpheus*, a *Saxon* King, the Abbots and Monks of *Abingdon* were exempted from all episcopal Jurisdiction; and at the same time episcopal Power was granted to the Abbot; and in the same Year this Grant was confirm'd by a Charter pass'd in the Convention of the States, which I presume was that great Assembly we now call Parliament.—For tho' at this time the whole Nation was given up to Popery, yet they did not dream of an independant ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. (*Vide Lailor's Case in Sir John Davis's Reports.*)

It St. *Edward's* Laws, Chap XIX. it is declar'd, that the King is Vicar of the highest King, to this End that he should govern or rule the People of the Land, and above all Things the holy Church.—This I take to be the Sum of that Part of Common-Law, mention'd in the Reign of King *Edward I.* when one of his Subjects (as Lord *Coke* says in *Cawdery's Case*) brought in a Bill of Excommunication against his fellow Subject, and publish'd it to the Lord-Treasurer

Treasurer of *England*: And this was, by the Common-Law of *England*, adjudged Treason, not against the Bishop, but against the King, his Crown and Dignity; for which he had been hang'd and drawn, if the earnest Intercession of the Chancellor and Treasurer had not prevail'd for mitigating the Sentence, by forcing him to abjure the Realm.

In the same Case Lord *Coke* reports, that King *Edward* III. claim'd a Benefice within the Province of *York*, who was refus'd by the Archbishop, because the Pope, by way of Provision, had confer'd it upon another. — The King thereupon brought a *Quare Non Admisit*. — The Archbishop then pleaded the *Pope's* Provision, for which contempt against the King's Crown and Dignity, (says Lord *Coke*) by Judgment at Common-Law, the Lands of his whole Bishoprick were seiz'd into the King's Hands during his Life; which Judgment (he adds) was long before any Statute or Act of Parliament was made in that Case. — And from this it evidently appears, that the main Principles of the Reformation, were taken from the ancient Common-Laws of *England*, which admitted not the least ecclesiastical Power, Jurisdiction, or Authority, but what was derived from the State. — In the First Parliament of *Edward* VI. it was enacted, that all Bishops should be made by the King's Letter Patent, and upon which they were

were only to be consecrated: And that whereas Bishops did now exercise Authority in their own Names, as they had done in the time of Popery, and since all Jurisdiction, both Spiritual and Temporal, was derived from the King; therefore the Bishop's Courts, in time to come, should be always held in the King's Name, and their Process seal'd by the King's Seal, as in Courts of Common-Law; and according to the Tenor of this Law, the Bishops did actually renew their Commissions.

If the Clergy have any Power by divine Right, it must be when they are assembled in Convocation: But the 25th of *Henry VIII.* Chap. IX. is a famous Bar to any such divine Right.—For that Act makes it no less than a Premunire for them so much as to meet without the King's Writ; and when they are met, they are ty'd down, by a severe Penalty, from attempting to do any thing without the King's Licence first obtain'd. And afterwards it is further declar'd, that no Resolution of theirs shall have the Force of a Canon, unless the King is pleas'd to confirm it; nor is it even then valid, if it be repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of these Realms.

I could mention many Instances where King *Henry VIII.* King *Edward*, and Queen *Elizabeth* have enforc'd their royal Injunctions on Ecclesiasticks of all Degrees, by no
less

less Penalties than Suspension, Deprivation, and Incapacity. The Legislature, by the Common-Law of *England*, for many Centuries, have been in possession of a Right of making use of a Convocation, or of setting it aside, and of settling all religious Matters without them; therefore the Clergy's Pretensions to the least Shadow of Power, is most ridiculous and absurd.——All the Bishops and Clergy of *England*, conven'd and assembled together, have not the Power equal to a petty *Cornish* Corporation: For they can, I apprehend, make any by Laws, and those Laws so made are obligatory on themselves.

In the 8th of *Elizabeth*, Chap I. it is declar'd, that the Power of the Parliament reaches to the annulling of all Canons, even in the most spiritual Things; and they there enact, that no Canon shall be good or valid, which is contrary to the Form establish'd by Parliament for the Consecrating of Bishops.—Now if the Parliament can annul ecclesiastical Laws, they must be able to make them, since no greater Power is necessary for one than the other, and consequently the Clergy or Convocation can have no Power but what is derived from and dependant on the Parliament, who, by the Laws of this Realm, have the sole Power to abridge, curtail, and annul all ecclesiastical Ceremonies, Laws, and Canons: How otherwise could they formerly
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make all the Acts of Convocation mere Nullities, and the Clergy liable to the severest Penalties, if they did not observe all the Forms and Methods there prescribed to them in their sitting and acting.—The Parliament, I mean the Legislature, look on themselves always to have a Plentitude of Power in all Matters and Things relating to Religion. In the Days of the greatest Darknes and Superstition in *England*, this one fundamental Notion always prevail'd,—That no Man ought to be bound by a Law he does not consent to.—This was so strongly ingrave'd on the Minds of our Ancestors, that nothing could efface it ;—and we find them often protesting, that this, and the other thing, does not bind them, because done without their Consent. To suppose any Laws, Canons, or Ordinances of the Clergy to be obligatory unless confirm'd by Parliament, is bidding Defiance not only to all the Common and Statute Laws of this Realm, but is subverting the very Constitution.—*Vide* 21st *Henry VIII.* Chap. I. where it is declar'd in as full and expresse Words as can be.—If the Clergy had any divine Right to make Laws, how could *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* authorize thirty-two Persons, half Laymen, to establish all such ecclesiastical Laws and Canons whatsoever. — Should the King and Parliament of *England*, at this Juncture, authorize thirty-two Persons, all Laymen, to make
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what Reformation they may judge convenient in our national Church, Universities, and Schools, a Man must be ignorant to the last degree, to presume such a Procedure to be illegal.—In the 25th of *Henry VIII.* it is asserted in a single Clause, That ecclesiastical Laws now in use, do owe their Establishment to the King and Parliament.—In the First of *Elizabeth*, Chap. I. it is enacted, that the Convocation, or Clergy, should not be permitted to declare what was Heresy; and further, that no Determination of theirs in Religion, should be adjudg'd Error, Heresy, or Schism; and that it was the Right of Parliament to enact Laws concerning Faith, Worship, Doctrine, Church-Government, ordaining and depriving Bishops and Priests, and concerning Rights, Ceremonies, and all other Church Matters.—37th *Henry VIII.* Chap. XVII. it is enacted and declared, That all Archbishops, Bishops, and Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical Persons, have no manner of Power or Jurisdiction, ecclesiastical, but by and under the King's Majesty, the only undoubted Head of the Church.—26th *Henry VIII.* Chap. I. it is enacted, That the Kings of these Realms shall have full Power, from time to time, to reform and correct all manner of Errors, Heresies, Offences, Abuses in all ecclesiastical Matters and Things whatsoever; and in Consequence of this, a Commission was
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granted to *Cromwell*, and confirm'd by Parliament, to act as the King's *Vicegerent* in all Matters ecclesiastical ; and he was placed above the then Archbishop of *Canterbury*.—And in the next Reign, in the Statutes of the First of *Edward VI.* Chap. II. it is enacted, That all Authority or Jurisdiction, spiritual, is drawn and deducted from the King's Majesty, as the supream Head of the Church.—1st of *Elizabeth*, Chap. I. it is enacted, That all who take Orders or Degrees in our Universities, are to take the Oaths of Supremacy :—In which they acknowledge, that the Queen is supream Head and Governor in all ecclesiastical Things and Cases ; and that they will defend and maintain that Authority, granted and belonging to the Queen, her Heirs and Successors, united and annex'd to to the imperial Crown of these Realms. None can dispose of the Places of deceas'd Bishops, but he to whom they devolve on his Death.—25th *Henry VIII.* Chap XX. it is enacted, That the Chapter shall be oblig'd, within twelve Days, to chuse the Person the King names in his *Conge d'Elire* :—And if they do not, the King's Nomination, without more ado, shall be sufficient ; and the Archbishop or Bishops, to whom the King's Signification is directed, are commanded and requir'd to confirm the Election, and to invest and consecrate the Elect with all Speed and Celerity ; and if they do not consecrate
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within twenty Days, as well as the Chapter present within twelve Days, they all incur a Premunire.

Dr. *Stillington*, in his *Irenicum*, Chap. VII. makes it plainly appear, that it was a common Opinion, that all Church-Government was mutable ; that it belong'd to the supream Power to model and alter it, as may best agree with the civil Constitution. Archbishop *Whitgift* against *Cartwright*, Page 678, declares, that it is the Opinion of the best Writers, that no one kind or model of Church-Government is to be perpetually observed.

I could produce a hundred Quotations more, from the best Writers that this Kingdom ever produced, all to the same Purpose,—as well as a Variety of other Acts of Parliament, wherein the Supremacy of the Crown is declar'd, confirm'd, and establish'd, in as express, plain, and full a Manner as Words can do it.—And I have been the more particular on this Head, as in the former Part of this Tract I have endeavour'd to prove the Necessity of a further Reformation in our national Church, Universities, and Schools, so it now became necessary for me to prove, that such a Reformation, whenever it shall be begun by the Legislature, will be perfectly agreeable to and consistent with all the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of these Realms.—And from what has been already urg'd, it must evidently appear, that
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by the Constitution of our Church, the Clergy are fully and entirely excluded from the least Degree or Shadow of Power in any Matters or Things ecclesiastical. This was the Ground-work or the Foundation, the chief Corner Stone ; and therefore to put this Matter out of a Possibility of being ever more disputed, it was fully declar'd by our Ancestors, in Acts of Parliament without Number.

I have as great a Regard for our national Church, as any *Englishman* can, or ought to have ; yet I must acknowledge that our Church is really and truly a parliamentary Church, a meer Creature, and Production of the Civil Power : It depends entirely upon the Acts and Authority of Parliament for its very Essence, Constitution, and Frame : And tho' this Matter seems very evident to every Body's Understanding, yet there now are, and have ever been since the Reformation, a considerable Number of Ecclesiasticks, who are so proud of their priestly Character, as to declate, in open Defiance to all Law and Reason, that they can't derive any Power or Authority from the Civil Magistrate ; that they are Embassadors from God ; and that they perform their priestly Offices by Virtue of a Commission from Heaven ; and that the Clergy ought to be permitted to make such Laws and Constitutions as shall appear to be conduive to their

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divine Commission. This is no more nor less than a Rag of Popery ; this ecclesiastical Claim is not only greatly absurd and ridiculous, but wou'd be attended with the most fatal Consequences, and destructive to the Welfare and Happiness of all the World.—Should I take it in my Head to go to *Paris* or *Madrid*, and there pretend to be an Ambassador from the King of *England*, to act by his Commission, with no better Proof than the Clergy offer for their being Ambassadors from God, and to have receiv'd a divine Commission from him, I should expect instantly to be sent either to *Bedlam* or *Bridewell*.—One Reason why the Clergy don't incline to have it thought they derive their priestly Character from the Civil Power, is because this would profane it into an intelligible thing, and spoil all the Mystery.

If I ask the Parson of my Parish, by what Authority he exercises his ecclesiastical Functions,—he'll probably reply, that the priestly Character was convey'd to him by the Bishops and Priests laying their Hands on his Head ; the Bishop bidding him to receive the Holy Ghost, &c.—And that he now exercises his priestly Offices *Jure Divino*.—He will probably shew me his Letters of Institution, and perhaps a Certificate of his Induction into my Parish Church ; but in all this Matter there is not the least Pretence to any divine Right or Commission from Heaven.—

Heaven.—Instead of shewing any Authority from Heaven, he only produces his Orders from the Bishop; but the Bishop could not help ordaining you; if he would have kept you from it, you might have compell'd him by an Action of *Quare Impedit*, to have done you Right. I ask from whom did the Bishop derive his Power to ordain? You'll reply, From his Consecration: Very good: But still the Consecration Office, and Ordination Office, derive all their Authority from the Establishment of the Civil Power; so that the Bishop's Consecration to the Office of a Bishop, and your Ordination to the Office of a Priest, are only valid by Virtue of an Act of Parliament. Had the Bishop been consecrated, or you ordain'd, by any other Form, he had been no Bishop, and you had been no Priest; and without this legal Ordination, had you administered the Lord's Supper, you would have forfeited 100 *l.* according to the Act of Uniformity, made in the 14th Year of King *Charles II.*—Its true the Bishop did bid you receive the Holy Ghost, &c.—But these Words are warranted by Law, otherwise neither the Words nor Ceremony could ever have made you a Priest.—Its from the Law of the Land, and that only, that all those Forms and Ceremonies receive their Force and Efficacy. This, I think, is sufficient to prove, that by the Constitution of our Church, the Clergy

are by no means to be suppos'd to have any the least divine Right or Authority. Were this Right to be admitted, the World wou'd presently be fill'd with the utmost Anarchy and Confusion : For this Power or Commission from Heaven, must be superior to all worldly Power ; and then the Clergy may forbid the parliament to meet or prorogue, and dissolve them, just as they think proper. So that this ecclesiastical Claim, is the most ridiculous and absurd that ever was advanced,

I have now gone through what I first intended, and I hope have proved, to the Satisfaction of every honest and judicious Man, the Necessity of a further Reformation in our national Church, Universities, and Schools ; and also, that this Reformation, whenever begun and undertaken by the Legislature, will be perfectly consistent with the fundamental Laws and Constitution of these Realms. Nothing now remains for me to do but to offer something with regard to the time that wou'd be most proper to carry this salutary Design into Execution. This Point must certainly be left to the Legislature, they are the only proper Judges.—But with the utmost Deference and Submission to the publick Authority, I will say, that it is the Opinion of many great, wise, and good Men, that no time ever was, or very probably ever will be,

be, more proper and convenient than the present.—Let any judicious man think calmly for a few Minutes, and a Variety of Occurrences and Circumstances, some nice and critical, will presently occur to his Mind, that makes the present Juncture extreamly favourable :——Yea, the very Situation of Things at present, seems plainly to point out that such a Reformation should now be undertaken.

By the Wisdom and Prudence of his Majesty, we are deliver'd from a long and destructive War,—and the Peace and Tranquility of *Europe* (as far as human Foresight can reach) seems to be settled on a firm and solid Basis. We have a Prince upon the Throne that is brave and wise, admir'd and belov'd by all honest Men, because he has never, in any one Instance, attempted to invade the Rights and Privileges of his People, but in all Cases has maintain'd a just and inviolable Regard to the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm.

We have a first Minister of State that is not of a violent rapacious Temper, not possess'd with an insatiable Thirst after Wealth or Power, as some of our Ministers have formerly been ;—but is of a mild and placid Disposition, tho' at all times warmly dispos'd to promote the publick Welfare.—We have also a Parliament wise and uncorrupt,—and, thanks be to his most gracious Majesty

Majesty for it, we have a noble Set of Bishops, Men of such great Learning, Moderation, and Virtue, as probably have not been equal'd since the first Establishment of Christianity in our happy Isle.——Those reverend Gentlemen wou'd, doubtless, most chearfully concur in this so desirable a Reformation ; as thereby they would transfix their Names and Characters to Posterity, with immortal Honour and Renown.——This Reformation being once compleated, the true Revolution Principles wou'd take a general Spread, and become universal through all the Parts and Corners of this Land. And then (and not till then) it may properly be said, that our Government, Constitution, and the present royal Family, all stand on a solid and substantial Basis, firm and durable, and can only be shaken with the Foundation of the Earth.

And now my hearty Prayer to Almighty God shall be, That I might live to see that happy Day here in *Great Britain*, when the publick Authority shall nominate and depute a Committee of learned impartial Men ; that they may diligently, freely, and honestly examine our present ecclesiastical Constitution in all its Parts, and bring in an unbiass'd and unprejudiced Account of its Errors and Defects, whether in Doctrine, Discipline, or Worship, in order to their effectual Correction and Reformation :

formation. Then wou'd our *Zion* be, indeed, a Praise in the Earth; our religious Divisions and Dissentions wou'd be no more; every honest and wise Man wou'd be of this reformed Church; and by such an illustrious Precedent, we should effectually recommend the like Reformation to all other Protestant Churches. And as to ourselves, we shou'd unavoidably become the Foundation and Center of Unity, Love, and Peace; and consequently the Kingdom of God wou'd thereby be advanc'd to the highest Perfection on Earth. *Amen, and Amen.*

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